

[The Society is indebted to His Excellency Governor Sir CECIL C. SMITH, K.C.M.G., for permission to print the following paper in its Journal.—H. T. H.]

THE NĚGRI SĚMBILAN

THEIR ORIGIN AND CONSTITUTION.

THE history of these States has been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation of the inhabitants. It is difficult to say how long ago it was that a great number of *Sákei** travelled from the mountains of Skúdei† and arrived in Johól. Their numbers amounted to as many grains as are contained in a *gantang*‡ of paddy, as on their arrival in Johól each individual planted a grain of paddy, and it was found that a *gantang* was exhausted. They tied a *rótan*§ from tree to tree and hung up their *běliungs* (the small Malay axe) and the *rótan* was completely filled. This latter statement, however, is one which conveys little idea of the numbers, as the distance between the trees is not given. There were four great Chiefs, or *Bátins*, amongst these *Sákei*. Three were men and one a woman. The woman elected to remain in Johól. The three men separated with their followers; one went to Jěľbu||, one to Klang, and one to Sungei Ujong. These are the *Suku yang ampat*, and are the origin of the *Undang yang ampat*, the four law-givers, of which Klang

* 'Sákei', a dog. But the term is not applied to the tribes described in this paper by the surrounding Malays. I have not heard it further South than Sělan-gor.

† The Sěkúdei stream takes its rise in the Púlei range.

‡ A gallon measure.

§ *i.e.*, 'rattan,' 'rautan' from 'raut' to scrape.

|| Said to mean 'mist.'

was the Chief or oldest and which will be referred to later as the development of the constitution is dealt with.

It would now appear that these Chiefs assigned various districts either to their relations or to the lesser Chiefs who had accompanied, them. The lesser Chiefs again separated to Náning, * Rěmbau, Jělei † (Pahang), Sěgámat, and Pásir Běsár. These completed the nine States of the NĚgri SĚmbilan. This fact is generally known, though considerable incredulity has always been expressed with regard to Jělei in Pahang, detached as it is from the remaining eight States.

Thus these *Sákei* were established in the nine States, and their power and numbers appear to have been considerable. A fact that has much struck me both here and in Pérak and Sělángor is the pronunciation of the final *k* by *Sákei* when talking Malay. This pronunciation is not within the memory of Malays in the Peninsula, and it is quite possible that this great number of *Sákei* who arrived from Skúdei, came originally from Borneo, ‡ and made Skúdei their last halting place before travelling on to Johol and separating throughout the Peninsula.

The next chapter in this history, unconnected as it is by dates, is the arrival of Mahomedan settlers from Měnangkábau in Sumatra. There must have been very free immigration, and that within a short period, and the policy pursued by these settlers was one of conciliation with the aborigines, and not as in Pérak and Sělángor, where the *Sákei* were driven back into the mountains, and their wives and children caught and enslaved by the Mahomedan settlers on

* A stinging insect of the bee kind.

† Name of a creeper.

‡ Primary origin in Java.

the coasts. These Měngkábau settlers brought their tribal laws with them—the illegality of intermarriage in a tribe, the election of the *Lěmbága*,* or Chief of a tribe, etc.

They fell in with the aboriginal views, and observed their rights to all waste lands, and their power in each State.

The best instance of the lines pursued by these settlers, and their amalgamation with the *Sákei*, is that Sri Měnánti. of the first settlers at Sri Měnánti and Úlu Muar, then a part of Johól. Four settlers arrived with their families, each belonging to a different tribe. Their names were PADÚKA BĚSÁR, ĚNGKEI † BONGSU, SĚ-NÁRA MÚDA and SI MAHARAJA. As they travelled to the Úlu of the Muar River, they came on a valley where they found the paddy in the ear, ripe, and they resolved to settle there, and called the name of the place Sri Měnánti. *Srí* is the Měngkábau word for the ripe paddy, ‡ *Měnánti* "awaiting." *Sri Měnánti* has been generally translated "The beautiful resting place." This is far more poetical, but not in accordance with Malay thought, which is always of the most practical, neither can this translation be reconciled with grammar.

These four men settled at Sri Měnánti and conciliated the *Sákei* of Muar and Johól to a certain extent. It is, however, probable that they found their position somewhat insecure; they, therefore, applied to the Dato' of Johól for a *Pěng-*

* 'Lěmbága,' condition, quality, system, and so applied to 'manager' of latter.

† *i.e.*, 'ěngkáya,' for 'órang káya,' lit: 'rich man,' but merely a title actually.

‡ It is not the *name*, but an *epithet* from the colour and flourishing condition of the padi, it is not confined to it in the ripe stage, but is used of it when green also.

hulu.* It is not clear whether the Dato' of Johól had then been converted to Islam; in any case, he sent a *Sákei Bátin* as *Pěnghúlu*. Some time after this, a family of Měňangkábau settlers of the tribe of Sri Lěmak came from Paháng, hearing that their own countrymen had arrived in Ulu Muar. This family consisted of a man, his wife, two daughters and one son. The son married the daughter of the *Sákei Pěnghúlu*, sent from Johól, and his wife bore him a son. The *Pěnghúlu* died when this child was about six years old, and the son was elected as *Pěnghúlu*, but, being a minor, his father administered for him until he came of age, and hence the title of *Pangku* † *Pěnghúlu* (Deputy *Pěnghúlu*) from the four original settlers and their families. It is thus that in all these States the Měňangkábau settlers observed the *Sákei*, or, as they are termed, *Waris* ‡ rights, and intermarried with *Sákei*, the women on their marriage adopting the religion of their husbands. In writing this sketch, my principal object is to make the constitution as clear as possible, and I will not enter into any elaborate stories or theories which created slight shades of difference in the individual States on questions of origin, as the constitution is but slightly affected by these.

Before proceeding further, I would lay special stress on the supremacy of the female *Pěnghúlu* of Johól over the States of Sri Měňánti, including Muar, Jěmpol § and Gěméncheh. The Dato' of Johól to the present day wears his hair long, and the *Pěnghúlu* of these States must go to him if necessary, as he is not expected to travel, the first Johól *Pěnghúluship* having been held by a female, and the same rules as applied to her then, apply to this day.

* 'Pěng' a personal prefix and 'Húlu' head, this officer was the *head*, while the 'Pěnglíma' was the *hand*, 'líma' was the hand, and so came from the number of the fingers to stand for five.

† Bosom, lap, and to hold in the same so to support, in this case, temporarily.

‡ 'Warith' (Ar.) corrupted into 'waris,' heirs.

§ Name of a fish, which is handed on to the river and so to the State.

Another point that must be borne in mind is the succession by the female not only to property but also to title and State revenues. The *Sákei* or *Waris* adopted the tribal system introduced by the Měngkábau settlers, and are now termed *Běduánda** as a tribe. They cannot intermarry. Thus the women of the *Waris* tribe must marry into the Měngkábau tribes, but the children of the marriage are *Waris*. A *Běduánda* man again must marry into one of the Měngkábau tribes, the offspring in this case being of the tribe of the woman, and having no *Waris* rights.

I have already mentioned the first settlers in Sri Měnánti and I infer that they had considerable difficulty in conciliating the *Sákei*. The same, I think, applied in Rěmbau. Both in the Sri Měnánti States, now subdivided into Ulu Muar, Jěmpol, Těráchi, and Gúnong Pásir, and also in the State of Rěmbau, land was purchased by the *Lěmbága* or Chief of tribe, for his people, from the *Sákei*. The purchase was a piece of cloth, a knife or a weapon, a cooking-pot. In the other States the *Sákei* placed no obstacles in the way of the Měngkábau settlers, and lands were cultivated by the tribes without purchase from the *Sákei*, though only with their consent. Thus throughout the Něgri Sěmbilan, with the exception of Rěmbau and the Sri Měnánti States, the lands are still State lands and virtually the property of the *Waris*. The tribes are most tenacious of their freehold rights "*tánah běrtěbus*." The old saying in these two States is "*tákek (tákok†) káyu Bátin‡ Jěňang,§ pútuš těbus kapáda Undang*." That is, the blazing of the trees (defining of the boundaries) is performed by the *Bátin jěňang*,|| the purchase is decided by the *Undang*.

* Cf. 'Biduan,' a player, musician, (Sansk. 'vidwas' skilled.)

† 'Tákok' is deeper than 'tákek.'

‡ Chief.

§ Deputy, probably originally derived from 'Jěňang' a post, brace, support.

|| The *Bátin* and his *Jěňang* (Deputy).

In all these States, however, the Dato' of Johól, acting in concert with the other three Dato's, *i.e.*, the *Tánah tĕ-lápakkan.* *Undang yang ampat*, made certain State reserves in order to provide for purposes of State and resting places for themselves when travelling from State to State. These lands are called *tánah tĕlápakkan*,* and will be dealt with again later.

The term used in describing the *Sákei* or *Waris* rights is *Waris rights.* *Gáung, Guntong, Bukit, Búkau, Herta Waris,* *i.e.*, ravines and hill-locked basins, hill and surrounding flats are the property of the *Waris*. This is equivalent to all State lands. Although the tribes are so tenacious of their rights to land acquired by purchase, yet it is impossible to infer much from it, if taken from its origin. The purchase has developed on account of the rapacity of the various powerful *Waris* families. The evil, however, has great advantages in administration, consequent on the great facility in dealing with all land matters with the Chiefs of tribes, who are most jealous of interference by others and who are anxious to thoroughly secure their rights.

I have tried to keep the origin and the constitution of these States separate, but although I have diverged slightly and dealt with matters of constitution, it was necessary to do so when origin and constitution were so closely allied. These States prospered exceedingly, and the first arrivals were joined by many others, who, no doubt, heard of the success of their fellow-countrymen.

All these settlers came from the inland districts of Měnang kábau. In Měnangkábau there are two "*ádat*," Custom— "*Ádat*." or customs, *viz.*, the *ádat tĕmĕnggung* † and

* 'Tĕlápak,' the sole of the foot, a variant of 'tápak'; so 'tĕlápakkán,' place under the sole of the foot, resting-place.

† Or 'katĕmĕngúngan', by some thought to be a person like Pĕrpátih Pí-nang Sábatang. [See Undang-undang Moco-Moco (Múka-Múka West coast of

the *adat pĕrpáteh*.* The *adat tĕmĕnggung* prevails on the sea coast, and is the same as in all other Malay countries. The *adat pĕrpáteh*, inland and very different. The *adat pĕrpáteh* prevails in these States; in Sungei Ujong the *adat pĕrpáteh* and the *adat tĕmĕnggung* are mixed.

It is to be inferred that, after a time, it was found that the constitution of these States could not be thoroughly secured, unless a *Raja* was placed over them to settle differences between States, and questions which the *Pĕnghulu* were not competent to settle in each State. It was, therefore, decided that six men should be selected to travel to Johór and to Mĕnangkábau, and apply for a *Raja* of the Mĕnangkábau royal family. It would appear that Johór and Mĕnangkábau were at that time closely allied, Johór being the greatest power to the east of the Straits of Malacca, and Mĕnangkábau the greatest in Sumatra and on the west. These six Officers bore the titles of (1) *Ĵohan*, (2) *Andátar*, (3) *Laksamána*, (4) *Laksamána*, (5) *Pĕnglíma Sútan*, (6) *Pĕnglíma Raja*. They travelled to Johór and thence to Mĕnangkábau and arrived at the *Istána*. They appear to have been ignorant men, and instead of taking the necessary precautions and going through the proper forms, they were imposed upon by an Officer of the Court who represented himself as a *Raja* and whose followers, no doubt, supported in the deception. This man's name was SI KHATIB, and he called himself Raja KABIB. The six Officers then returned to the Nĕgri SĚmbilan with KHATIB as *Raja*, but before he was proclaimed, a letter arrived from Mĕnangkábau giving the real facts of the case. It was then arranged that the six Officers should go back to Mĕnangkábau and be more careful. This they did, and the Rajas of Mĕnangkábau selected Raja

Sumatra) Malayan Miscellanies, Vol. II.] It dates from before Islamism in Sumatra, but they are now mingled.

* Sansk. 'páti' lord. In full 'adat Pĕrpátih (or Pĕrpati) Pínang Sabátang,' *i. e.* 'lord of the single areca-palm'.

D. F. A. H

MĚLĚWAR to return to the NĚgri SĚmbilan and be proclaimed Sultan of those States. The Rajas of Měnangkábau gave Raja MĚLĚWAR a following of 40 persons to take him to Siak; from Siak the Raja of Siak sent 40 persons to convey him to Malacca; in Malacca 40 persons conveyed him to Naning; and then again 40 persons conveyed him to Rěmbau. It would appear that the installation took place at Pěnájis in Rěmbau, and after the *tábal*, the *Yam Tuan* proceeded to the Istana at Sri Měnánti, in the State of Úlu Muar.

The terms given to the States of Johól, Sungei Újong, Rěmbau, and Úlu Muar in connection with the election of the *Yam Tuan* are:—Rěmbau, Tánah Karájaan* (Pěnájis†); Sungei Újong, Bálei Mělintang;* Johól, Bálei Běrtengkat;* and Úlu Muar, Tánah Měngándong.* Thus the first Sultan of NĚgri SĚmbilan was Yam Túan Běsár Raja MĚLĚWAR.

The *Yam Tuan Múdaship* of Rěmbau was of later creation, and so was the *Yam-Tuan-Múdaship* of Jělěbu. In Rěmbau the tribe of *Sakei* or *Waris* had been added to by another tribe called *Běduánda Fáwa*. Rěmbau origin has been thoroughly explained by Mr. DUDLEY HERVEY in his valuable pamphlet on that State. In Jělěbu, the Dato' of Jělěbu had originally Raja powers vested in him; he later applied to the *Yam Tuan* of Sri Měnánti for a separate *Yam Tuan*, and this was granted. Jělěbu is a considerable distance from the Istana of Sri Měnánti, and this, together with the probability that he was unable to hold his own with the Chiefs, was the cause. The *Yam Tuan* of Sri Měnánti retained suzerain rights as in

* For an explanation of these names see Journal S.B., R.A.S., No. 13, for June 1884, paragraph 246.

† Or 'Pěnájih,' the Rěmbau river as far as its junction with the 'Pěnar' at 'Sempang,' from which point it is called the 'Linggi,' but in a map in GODINKO DE GRECIA'S Account of Malacca (A.D. 1613) the Linggi at the mouth is called 'Rio Panagim,' which confirms the tradition that the name Linggi' (a certain part of a boat or prahu) is of comparatively recent origin.

D. F. A. H.

Rěmbau. In Rěmbau, the Yam Tuan of Sri Měnánti had the strongest voice in the election and succession of the Yam Tuan Muda together with the Dato' of Rěmbau, and the Dato' of Rěmbau had to go to the Istana at Sri Měnánti. In Jělěbu, the Dato' of Jělěbu had to go to the Istana, and the Yam Tuan settled the succession. If there was any difficulty with the Yam Tuan, the Dato' of Jělěbu consulted with the Dato' of Johól.

The ceding of Klang to the Yam Tuanship of Sělángor was arranged in a friendly way. The To Ěngku of Klang complained of the great distance to the Istana of Sri Měnánti, and it would appear that Klang at the time was but thinly populated by Mahomedan settlers. It was, therefore, decided that Klang should acknowledge the Yam Tuan of Sělángor as Raja—Sěgámat and Pásir Běsár became separated from the Něgri Sěmbilan on account of disturbances, and were brought under Muar administration. Jělei in Pahang would not appear to have ever mixed with the nine States. It is only on account of the fact that one of the nine *Bátin* took up that river as his district that Jělei has been numbered as one of the nine States. The origin of the *Waris* of the tribes and of the *Rajas* is, I trust, fairly clear. Several points in constitution combined with origin have also been dealt with, which will be of use towards understanding the constitution, and with which I will now deal.

Constitution. The main law is the following :—

1. *Orang Sěměnda* kapáda Těmpat Sěměnda.*
2. *Anak Búah kapáda Ibu Bápa.*
3. *Íbu Bápa kapáda Lěmbága.*
4. *Lěmbága kapáda Undang.*
5. *Undang kapáda Ka'ádilan.*

* This expression is now used generally amongst the Měnangkábau folk, but perhaps it bears a reference to the custom of cousins marrying; 'Sa-manda' 'satu mandá,' 'manda' = 'ěmak,' one mother, she from whom the parents of both took their origin.

1. The married man shall look to his wife's male relations for assistance in any questions regarding his wife or her property.

2. The people of the tribe shall look to the heads of families (elders) in each tribe for assistance in all difficulties.

3. The heads of families (elders) shall look to the *Lěmbága*.

4. The *Lěmbága* shall look to the *Undang* (*Pěnghúlu*).

5. The *Undang* shall look to the *Ka'ádilan* (the Sultan).

I will take these sayings one by one. As property all goes in the female line, it is necessary that the female shall have every protection. Her husband cannot mortgage or sell her property. He cannot touch it. If he brings money or property into his wife's house, it is necessary for him to call the *Těmpat Sěměnda*,* that is, the male relations of his wife together, and declare the property that he brings, in order that, in cases of death or divorce, there may be no question with regard to such property. This is generally done with a feast a goat slaughtered, or in some cases a buffalo. If the husband does not declare property (*wang atau herta měmbáwa*'),† he cannot claim in case of contingencies, such as divorce or death, settlement on his children, &c., and such property lapses to the woman, his widow. The debt of a man cannot be claimed against the property of his wife, unless there is personal property as described, but can be claimed against his *herta pěsáka*,‡ that is, the property of his mother, or, if dead, of her heirs. In all cases of debts, or in fines inflicted on a man and unpaid, and failing personal property, the *herta pěsáka* can be seized not the *herta sěměnda*. It is the duty of the *Íbu Bápa* and the *Lěmbága* to give every assistance in this matter. Execution was very rare in these States; in all criminal cases, from murder downwards, fines

*Orang Sě-
měnda kapáda
Těmpat Sěměn-
da.*

* Lit. place where he married.

† Money or property brought.

‡ Inherited property. (Sansk. 'arta,' goods; 'push,' to divide.)

being inflicted, hence the term "*sálah di timbang, utang di báyěr,*"* *i.e.*, the value of the fault is weighed, and when weighed the debt is paid. The property of a woman descends to the female children of the marriage. In the event of there being more than one female child, the house and *kampung*† is the property of the eldest, and the *sáwah*‡ is divided equally. If the man has acquired landed property before marriage, it cannot leave his tribe, it must go to his "*anak búah*" § in the tribe. Hence the term "*herta pēsáka kapáda anak búah.*" If the husband has personal property, he can leave it to whom he likes, unless the property is acquired during his marriage, when such property is shared equally between man and wife, even *kampung* and *sáwah*.

The tribes are divided into one, two, three and sometimes as many as six families, and it is from these families that the *Lěmbága* is elected. Hence the term with regard to the Chiefs of tribes "*pēsáka běřčéler.*"|| The order of succession by each family to the *Lěmbágaship* is fixed, and the election, therefore, is made in the family next in succession. The *Ibu Bápa*, or representatives of these families, have to carry out the instructions of the *Lěmbága* and assist in all matters in the tribe; such as the collection of the "*más mánah,*"¶ which is a tribute to the Raja, *viz.*, "*bras sa'gántang nior sa'táli,*"** *i.e.*, one gantang of rice and two coco-nuts. This will be explained later. The *Ibu Bápa* is again responsible to the *Lěmbága* for all faults committed or debts incurred in his section of the tribe, "*katúrunan-nya,*" †† *i.e.*, the descendants according

* Fault is weighed and debt is paid.

† *i.e.*, rising ground surrounding the house usually fenced in, as the name implies. For a discussion of the origin of this word, see YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON *S.V.* 'compound'. I believe it to be a Malay word, cf. allied word 'képong'.

‡ Padi field (wet.)

§ Relations, lit. children, fruit.

|| 'Gílir' or 'géler' to turn, change, so 'pēsáka běřčéler' the succession turns about, or, as we should say, is taken or enjoyed in turn.

¶ *i. e.* gold of respect (Sansk. 'mana' to value, appreciate.)

** Lit. '(of) rice a gallon (of) 'coco-nuts a string.'

†† 'Túrun' to descend.

to the female line from the original family or families of the tribe. In some cases these descendants number 50 families, about 200 souls. The people of each *Katúrunan* appeal to the *Íbu Bápa*; thus in questions of the property or other matters which the *Orang Sěměnda* and *Těmpat Sěměnda* cannot settle between them, the *Íbu Bápa* would be the appeal. If again the latter cannot settle the case, he would bring the matter before the *Lěmbága*. *Íbu Bápa* is a curious name, meaning literally father and mother (elder).*

The *Lěmbága's* powers are various. In the first place he has the power to fine "*dua púloh sěřěpi*," † which amounts to \$7.20 of the present currency. He is the one who is present at all purchases and sales of land, by his tribe or to his tribe. He is the one who deals with the *Waris* in purchasing waste lands for his tribe. The purchase of waste lands from the *Waris* has been touched upon already. When the *Bátin Jěnang* has blazed the trees, showing the boundaries of the land, the *Dato', Pěrdána*, ‡ who in Muar is in charge of all waste lands, takes the *Lěmbága* who has purchased to the *Undang*, where the purchase is completed. "*Pútus těbus kapáda undang*" is what describes purchase from the *Lěmbága's* point of view. It means the *Dato Pěrdána* has decided the land "*jangka běrhéla*." § The *Lěmbága* has fixed his boundary posts "*lantak běrtúkul*" || at the places where the *Bátin Jěnang* has ¶ blazed the trees "*tákek káyu*." The money has been paid for the land, "*más běrtáhil*." The purchase is thus completed. If an individual of a tribe gets into trouble and is fined by the *Raja* or *Undang*, the *Lěmbága* arranges for the

* Mother and Father.

† Twenty 'sěřěpi,' a 'sěřěpi' is 36 cents, not a coin, but for purposes of reckoning.

‡ First, Chief, Sansk. 'Pradána.'

§ 'Jangka' measure, 'běrhéla' drawing, i.e., from point to point, by lengths.

|| 'Lantak' stuck in, 'běrtúkul' and hammered them.

¶ Rather 'Bátin' and 'Jěnang' have.

payment. He it is who enquires into the personal property of the individual, if there is none, he falls back upon the *herta pĕsĕka*, which he sells or mortgages in order to cover the debt. He also settles debt cases. Mortgage of property tribe with tribe must be declared before both *Lĕmbĕga*. If in the same tribe, it is said not to be necessary. All sales must be carried out by the *Lĕmbĕga*, and if sold into another tribe the boundary posts are again fixed by both *Lĕmbĕga* "*lantak bĕrtukul*." The election of the *Ību Bĕpa* is in the hands of the people of each descent in the tribe; that of the *Lĕmbĕga* by the *Ību Bĕpa*. The *Ību Bĕpa* are in some tribes as many as seven, in some as few as one; if more than one, each family takes it in turn for the *Lĕmbĕgaship*, and it only remains to select the man, which rule, if strictly adhered to, makes the election very easy. The *Lĕmbĕga* and *Waris* "*orang yang dua-blas* sĕrta waris*" elect the *Undang*.

I now come to the *Lĕmbĕga kapĕda Undang*. The number of *Waris* descents in each State from which the *Dato' Pĕnghulu* or *Undang* can be elected varies. In Muar there are three, *viz.*, the *To' Muar*, the *Pĕrdĕna*, and the *Pĕrba†* descents. The present *Undang* is of the first, and will be succeeded by the *Pĕrdĕna* descents; then the *Pĕrba* descent; and then again the *Penghuluship* will revert to *To' Muar*. In Rembau, there are two descents, *viz.*, the *Bĕduanda Jĕkun‡* or *Waris Sĕdia§ Raja*, and the *Bĕduanda Jĕwa* or *Waris Lĕla Maharaja*, and they take it turn and turn about for the *Pĕnghuluship*. In Johol, there is only one descent from which the *Undang* can be elected, and the *Bĕtin* of Johol have a stronger voice in the election than the *Lĕmbĕga*. The other States are minor questions. In Tĕrĕchi, it is a curious fact that the *Undang* is not elected from the *Waris*, but from the

* *i.e.*, of the 12 'sukú.'

† Sansk. 'Parva' ancient.

‡ Cf. Ceylon 'Yakko'.

§ Sansk. 'Sĕdya' ancient.

tribe of Sri Lěmak,* Paháng. The *Undang*, however, must marry into the tribe of the *Waris*. Thus, in Muar, the three descents are the three *Kěpála Waris*. In Těráchi, there are two, in Jěmpol there is one, in Gúnong Pásir there is one, in Johól and Ínas there is one, with a male and female representative. In Rěmbau, the *Waris* are somewhat different. Besides the *Undang*, there are five *Kěpála Waris*, viz., *Pěrba* (who is also the *Lěmbága* over both families of *Běđuánda*), *Bandar*,† *Mangku Búmi*,‡ *Měntri Lěla Pěrkása*, and *Raja di Raja*. There have been several somewhat complicated questions in Rěmbau, probably consequent on the unequal number of the *Kěpála Waris*. Formerly, according to the constitution, if the *Undang* was of the descent of *Sědia Raja*, the *Bandar* must be taken from the descent of *Lěla Maharaja*. It was found, however, that if the rule was strictly enforced, it was possible that the *Bandar* would cease to exist, which did actually occur. A reform, therefore, was made in the constitution and this condition was repealed. Where the constitution is strictly enforced, all elections are comparatively easy, but the slightest departure from the constitution throws the whole procedure into a hopeless state of chaos.

The *Undang* has in each State the power to fine "*Satu Bahra*" which is equal to \$14 of the present currency. The *Undang* (*Dato' Pěnghúlu*) is virtually he who, as a commoner, has the interests of the *Waris* and *Lěmbága* and the people of their tribes at heart and is the upholder of their rights and of the constitution. The appeal from the *Lěmbága's* decision is to the *Undang*, and all cases in which the jurisdiction of the *Lěmbága* is insufficient, must be brought to the *Pěnghúlu's* court. All waste lands are, as already described, vested in the *Waris*. The constitution, however, only provided for the purchase of lands for paddy fields and not for more intricate questions, such as lands for Chinese planters and miners, and it is in consequence of this, that so many jealousy-

* A local district in Měnangkábau, Sumatra.

† Port (Pers.)

‡ Sustainer of the earth (in his lap.)

sies and difficulties have arisen in these States in reference to participation in revenues.

It is a mistake to suppose that waste lands are vested in the *Dato' Pĕnghulu* only. They are vested in the *Waris*, and the participation should be rated throughout the tribe. The rule, however, is "*Gĕdang sama gĕdang, kĕchil sama kĕchil*"; meaning that the Chiefs get the principal share and the lesser people only a little—literally, big with big small with small.

In Sungei Ujong, the *Dato' Bandar* is a very important man. Not so in the other States. The *Dato' Bandar* in Rĕmbau has no greater rights to revenues than the other *Kĕpala Waris*. In Muar, the *Dato' Bandar* is really a mere title, and he does not participate with the *Kĕpala Waris* in waste lands, nor does he in Jĕmpol or Gĕmĕncheh. The *Undang* should participate as such in general revenues on account of the office to which he has been elected, *viz.*, the highest office held by a commoner in each State. As a *Waris* he shares with the other *Kĕpala Waris*. The *Lĕmbaga* participate only to a small extent as heads of tribes, and they can only claim where taxation is introduced which affects their tribes. All cases nearly are settled by custom—*adat*—as already explained. With reference to property, Mahomedan law is only brought in as a last resource, if *adat* is insufficient for the case at issue. Mahomedan law is exercised only by the *Ka'adilān* (Sultan). Inter-marriage in a tribe is looked upon as a very grave offence in Rĕmbau, and used to be visited by death. In Jĕmpol, the people are very strict observers of the Mahomedan religion, and they found that this law was so little in accordance with Mahomedan law that the law was repealed, and it only required a slight alteration in the property laws to make this. The *Dato'* of Johol is the principal *Undang*, and the States of Ulu Muar, Jĕmpol, Gĕmĕncheh, Tĕrachi and Gúnong Pásir are "*bĕrtali dĕngan Johol*,"* *i.e.*, they are bound to consult Johol on matters of importance. *Dato' Baginda Tan Amás* of Johol besides being the *Kĕpala Waris*, is also, so to speak,

* Lit. 'Strung to', 'in one string with.'

Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is also the person to be first consulted before any commoner can reach the Dato' of Johól—“*háluan sĕmbah*”* is the Malay term given. He cannot succeed to the Pĕnghúluship. *Baginda Maharaja* the *Lĕmbága* of the tribe of Sri Lĕmak Paháng and *Pangku Pĕnghúlu* is the “*háluan sĕmbah*” to the Dato' of Muar. *To' Mentri* to the Dato' of Tĕráchi.

On the election of the *Undang*, he is taken by the *Lĕmbága* and *Waris* to the *Istána*; the *Yam Tuan* when satisfied that he is the right man according to the constitution, accepts him, and the ceremony of *sĕmbah*, or doing homage, is gone through. The *Ka'ádilan* calls the *Undang* in speaking to him *Orang Káya*. Every *Undang* has a number of Court Officers, the number of which varies in the different States. The *Lĕmbága* is allowed one Officer by the *Undang*.

Undang kapáda Ka'ádilan is the last law to be dealt with. In all cases that the *Undang* cannot decide, he must refer to the *Yam Tuan Ka'ádilan*. The *Yam Tuan* has the power to fine “*anam púloh anam Kúpang*,” amounting to \$24.80 of the present currency. In cases foreign to the constitution, he is, as the title of *Ka'ádilan* implies, all powerful to administer justice. The *Ka'ádilan* alone can try cases in which *Rajas* are concerned, even though married to commoners. The term is “*mínyak ka' mínyak júa áyĕr ka áyĕr*” —oil to oil, water to water. He is the supporter of the Mahomedan religion, Defender of the Faith.

The Court of *Yam Tuan Bĕsár* consists of:—

The *orang ampat astána*, viz.:—

1. *Dato' Si Maharaja*.
2. *Dato' Raja To Téwangsa*. †
3. *Dato' Ákhir Zĕmán*.
4. *Pĕng-húlu Dagang*.

* The front or first point of respect.

† For “*Déwa Angsá*.”

Then come the *pĕgáwei yang anam* already mentioned *viz.*:—

1. *Jóhan.*
2. *Andátar.*
3. *Laksamána.*
4. *Laksamána.*
5. *Pĕnglíma Sútan.*
6. *Pĕnglíma Raja.*

Then follow the *pĕgáwei yang sĕmbilan púloh sĕmbilan*, (99) whose titles need not be given, and then,

Bĕntára Kiri.
Bĕntára Kanan.

The duties of the *orang ampat* are as Court Chamberlains. They receive the *Undang* of the various States when they come to the *Istána*. *Si Maharaja* and *Raja Téwangsa* sit before the Yam Tuan until he is ready to receive the *Undang*; when the Yam Tuan has given the order (*títah*) for the *Undang* to be brought before him, *Akhir Zĕmán** and *Pĕnghúlu Daging* bring him into the presence, the other two do not move.

Jóhan† is the officer who receives *Rajas* arriving from other countries; for instance, if the Yam Tuan of Sĕlángor were to visit the Yam Tuan of Sri Mĕnánti, *Jóhan* would go to meet him and bring him to the *Istána*, where he would be received by the *orang ampat* first. *Andátar*'s office is to receive the *Undang* of other States, such as the *Klana*‡ of Sungei Ujong, or the *Dato*' of Jĕlĕbu, or the *To*' *Ēngku* of Klang. He brings them to the *Istána* where he hands them over to the *orang ampat*. *Laksamána* and *Laksamána* are the principal sword and spear bearers. *Pĕnglíma Sútan* and *Pĕnglíma Raja* are the messengers, who are sent in connection

* End of time.

† Corrupted from 'Jauhan,' perhaps from the Persian 'Jihan,' an intensive, used in combination with 'Pahlawan,' title of *Dato*' of Johol, corrupted from Persian 'Pahluwan' a bold man, warrior.

‡ *i.e.* wandering.

with the decease of the *Yam Tuan*. If there was no *Raja* in the country fit to succeed the deceased, it might be necessary to go to the *Yam Tuan* of Mĕnangkábau, or to the *Yam Tuan* of Johól in the old days. The *Pĕgáwei yang sĕmbilan pŭloh sĕmbilan* (99) have to obey the orders given by the *Pĕgáwei yang anam*, and cannot fail to come to the *Istána* on all State occasions. They are so to speak the Police of the *Istána*.

The *Bĕntára** *Kánan* and *Bĕntára Kiri* both of the tribe of *Bĕduánda*, stand one on each side of the dais at the election of the *Yam Tuan*. The *Bĕntára Kánan* calls the *Undang* to *sĕmbah*. The order is "*títah panggil daulat*" and the title of the *Undang* is given, thus in the case of the Dato' of Johól "*Oh Dato' Johól Jóhan Pahláwan Léla Pĕrkása Sĕtiá-*" "*wan† yang mĕmĕrentah didálam nĕgri Johól títah panggil "daulat."* The *Undang* then answers *daulat* and comes forward to do homage.

In dealing with the election of the *Yam Tuan Bĕsár* of Sri Mĕnánti, it is now only necessary that the Dato's of Johól, Muar, Jĕmpol, Tĕráchi and Gúnong Pásir should be *d'accord*. The Dato' of Ínas is a branch of the Johól *Waris* of the oldest descent, but the State is so small that it has never been taken into account. If, strictly in accordance with the constitution, the Dato' of Johól or *Dato' Baginda Tan Ámás* as his proxy proceeds to one of the State reserves "*Tánah Tĕlápakkan*" in Ulu Muar.

As soon as the new *Yam Tuan* is agreed upon, the Dato of Muar, who is *Sĕtiá Maharaja Léla Pahláwan*, sends for *Pĕnglíma Sútan* and *Pĕnglíma Raja*, who convey the news to the *Orang ampát Astána*, who then make arrangements for the *Tábal* or installation of the *Yam Tuan*. With regard to other forms and ceremonies for the installation of the *Yam Tuan* and the forms observed in the *Istána* and by the people to the *Yam Tuan*, they are similiar to those

* Modern form of 'Abantara,' sword-bearer.

† 'Léla' fencing; Skr. 'Prakaça' mighty valiant; Skr. 'satya' faith, loyalty.

in Pérak and Sělángor. The Yam Tuan Běsár of Sri Měnánti has 32 guns fired on State occasions. The Yam Tuan Múda (Jělěbu and Rěmbau) 16 guns. The eldest son of the Yam Tuan Běsár is Těngku Běsár. The eldest son of the Yam Tuan Múda is Těngku Múda. On the death of a Yam Tuan, the old custom is, that all the people in the country shall pay "*más mánah*." This consists of one gantang of rice, two coco-nuts, one fowl, and *duit s'pérak* which amounts to six cents of the present currency. In populous countries like these this amounts to a great deal. I have already mentioned the *Tánah Tělápakkan* or State reserves, *Tělápakkan Undang yang ampat*. If the To Ěngku of Klang, the Dato' of Jělěbu, the Klana of Sungei Ujong, or the Dato' of Johól travelled, they always stayed at one of these reserves, and the people occupying the reserves had to pay a tribute of one gantang of rice, two coco-nuts, one fowl, chillies and saffron, for their sustenance.

The *Íbu Bápa* of tribes collect the *más mánah* for the Raja. They then take it to the *Lěmbága*, who takes it to the *Undang*. The *Undang* then takes it to the *Istána* on the day appointed by the officers of the Yam Tuan's court. It is necessary that every *Undang* should go to the *Istána* on every *Hári Ráya*, or if not *Hári Ráya* on *Ráya Haji*, to do homage to the Yam Tuan. This is the same in Pérak and Sělángor. The people of these countries are exceedingly tenacious of their individual rights, *viz.*, the rights of the *Těmpat Sěměnda*, the rights of the *Íbu Bápa*, of the *Lěmbága* of the *Undang*, of the *Warís* and of the *Raja*; and if their laws are adhered to and strictly supported, it is very easy to administer a large Malay population.

MARTIN LISTER.